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people other than blood members of the lineages would come to live on the sections. To protect the food supply of its own blood members, the lineage might well make the rule that certain nut trees were to be shared among all associated with the constituent lineages through blood, marriage or choice; whereas only members of the lineages by blood or adoption might plant and own trees on the *kauv* section. This would prevent the removal of wealth from blood members of the lineages by friends and distantly related affinal relatives, who might come to live on the section. The land is thus effectively owned in common by the lineage corporation, though sole right to the produce of the trees remains with individual members of the corporation.

Both paternal and maternal lineages, the *po* and the *uua*, control small sections of talo beds. There is no legend as to the origin of this control. These beds were probably dug first on land controlled by the paternal lineage or by the maternal lineage if the maternal descent group was originally a more important unit of social organization, as evidence seems to indicate. Then, as new paternal or maternal lineages were set up by the breaking away of men and women from the basic groupings, certain talo lands were transferred to the new, minor lineages, from those controlled by the major group. The twenty-three talo gardens on Wale owned by the paternal and maternal lineages are all named. These gardens are divided among male and female members of the lineages. In the next generation, children retain a share in the mother's maternal lineage beds, but receive no shares in the mother's paternal lineage beds. Similarly, they retain shares in the father's paternal lineage beds, but none in his maternal lineage beds. The talo lands are controlled by the lineages as corporate entities, and are redivided from time to time to include new members of the corporation.

Individual Property

The wealth objects controlled by the individuals are few. A man may own a house and a house site, a canoe, fishing gear and implements, clothing, pearl-shell ornaments, trees, and talo beds. A woman owns mats, prepared pandanus, ornaments, trees, and talo beds. Small canoes, one-piece dugouts or plank canoes, are owned outright by one man. Larger canoes which have required much time to make and wealth to finance are owned by household groups, or groups of closely related kin. The oldest man of the kin group is spoken of as the nominal owner of such a canoe, but all the members of the group refer to it as "our canoe". If relatives or friends wish to use the canoe, they ask permission of the nominal owner. A young man who does not possess a canoe of his own borrows one from a friend. When the fisherman returns, he gives fish, usually the best and biggest of his catch, to the owner of the canoe in payment for its use. The fish reserved for this payment is termed the *ye* (sacred fish). When one man is invited to accompany another in a fishing canoe, there is an equal division of the catch and no payment of the *ye* is expected from the guest member of the canoe.

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Pukapukan food is invariably dry food that can be divided into separate shares without the aid of food containers other than the coconut platter and coconut shell. This sharing pattern leads to the grumbling of the *kaitangi*, the person who thinks he has been given less than his rightful share of food in the food division, whether of household or village feast. There are many references in the stories to trouble caused by people who were *kaitangi*. To a person who grumbles about his food, the classic reply is, "Wano koe aunai te kaitangi no Yele" (Go and get the food share that did not satisfy Yele), the implication being that even if the *kaitangi's* food shares were as large as Yele's in the story (1), he would still be dissatisfied. In another story, that of Watu-manava-nui, it is the dissatisfaction of Kumawawine that leads her to betray her own Yayaka people to the Tongan warriors, with the result that all her people, including herself, were killed by the Tongans and Pukapukans. The person who grumbles over his share of nuts is told, "Wano koe ki te niu o Totolou" (Go to the nut tree of Totolou). This refers to the god Totolou's magical tree from which a nut was picked, eaten, and then put together again and thrown into the tree, where it flourished as before.

SUMMARY OF ECONOMIC SYSTEM

Because old age does not bring with it fear of economic insecurity, there is no incentive to hoard wealth. Old people are cared for by children and relatives, and no one ever suffers from lack of food or shelter. The life of the lazy man might be materially easy, but he would suffer much through ridicule; there would be few whose pride could stand the blow of being allotted only a child's share of food. It is noteworthy that laziness never enters as a theme of stories.

The village of Ngake makes more copra than the other villages and each person in Ngake receives slightly more money from the proceeds of the semi-annual sale of copra than do the people of the other villages, but this does not mean that the increased wealth of Ngake villagers can be used to tyrannize over the other two villages. The money is spent on clothes or tobacco and increases personal prestige, not economic power.

The economic system is so well integrated with environment and social structure that it has stood firm under the impact of an alien culture when other aspects of Pukapukan society have been lost. Needs are well provided for, individual skill is appreciated, insecurity is absent, and the accumulation of wealth has for its end redistribution in the interests of increased prestige. Minor flaws in the system come from occasional inequalities in food distribution; these are temporary and never serious enough to disrupt the functioning of the major patterns, which draw their strength from the basic social structure.